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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5773
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1174

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CY, PINR, US
SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATION: U.S. SUGGESTIONS

REF (A) STATE 091864, (B) USUN 1197

1. I CALLED ON GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR PAPADOPOULOS APRIL 29
TO CONVEY US SUGGESTIONS FOR THE RESUMED NEGOTIATION IN NICOSIA.

2. I PREFACED MY PRESENTATION BY SAYING US INTEREST IS TO
MAXIMIZE BOTH FREQUENCY AND SUBSTANCE WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT
IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH IS UNLIKELY UNTIL AFTER TURKISH ELECTIONS.
ON FREQUENCY, WE HAD MADE REPRESENTATIONS TO TURKEY IN AN EFFORT
TO HOLD THE TURKISH SIDE TO ITS VIENNA COMMITMENT TO RESUME IN
MAY. WHILE FINAL RETURNS WERE NOT IN, IT LOOKED AS IF TURKS
HAD DECIDED TO BE ACCOMODATING, AND I ANTICIPATED THAT THREE
MEETINGS WOULD BE POSSIBLE BEFORE DE CUELLAR'S DEPARTURE
FOR NEW YORK. (STATUS OF THIS IS REPORTED IN SEPTEL.)

3. ON SUBSTANCE, I SAID US HAD DEVELOPED SOME THOUGHTS TO
PUT TO BOTH SIDES IN THE HOPE THAT THESE MIGHT STIMULATE
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CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION. I THEN READ TO PAPADOPOULOS FROM
TWO PAPERS WE HAD PREPARED ON THE BASIS OF REFTELS AS TO WHAT WE
WERE SUGGESTING TO EACH SIDE. I TOLD PAPADOPOULOS THAT I THOUGHT
IT BETTER NOT TO LEAVE THESE TWO PAPERS WITH EITHER SIDE
OUT OF CONCERN THAT THEY MIGHT TAKE ON A NEGOTIATING LIFE
OF THEIR OWN. (THIS WAS ACTUALLY DE CULLAR'S SUGGESTION.)

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4. QUOTE: GREEK CYPRIOT:
A. THE GREEK CYPRIOTS COULD MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE TALKS IN NICOSIA BY SELECTING THE FIVE OR SIX MOST CRUCIAL FUNCTIONS WHICH THEY FEEL THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD HAVE AND THEN PREPARE DETAILED PRESENTATIONS IN EACH OF THESE AREAS.
B. WITH RESPECT TO TERRITORY, IT IS SUGGESTED THAT DISCUSSIONS IN NICOSIA PROCEED FROM A MAP TO BE PRESENTED BY THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL, ON WHICH THERE ARE TWO LINES--ONE SHOWING THE GREEK CYPRIOT PORPOSAL AND THE OTHER THE CURRENT TURKISH FORWARD POSITION. DISCUSSION COULD THEN PROCEED ON AN AREA-BY-AREA BASIS ON THE ROUGHLY SIXTEEN PERCENT OF LAND THAT LIES BETWEEN THE TWO LINES.
C. PUBLICITY EMANATING FROM EACH MEETING OF THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS HAS BEEN A MAJOR PROBLEM. ONE WAY TO APPROACH A SOLUTION WOULD BE TO HAVE A GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES THAT THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD HANDLE PRESS RELEASES AND THAT THE TWO COMMUNITIES WOULD REFRAIN FROM HOLDING PRESS CONFERENCES OR GIVING BACKGROUNDERS. END QUOTE.

5. QUOTE TURKISH CYPRIOTS:
A. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS COULD MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION BY ENLARGING AND CLARIFYING THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS IN FOUR SPECIFIC AREAS:
(1) SET FORTH IN GREATER DETAIL HOW EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS FROM CONFEDERATION TO FEDERATION IS TO BE ACHIEVED;
(2) EXPAND SECTIONS OF ORIGINAL PRESENTATION TO EXPLAIN HOW POWERS ASSIGNED TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN SUCH FIELDS AS FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THE FEDERAL BUDGET AND COMMUNICATIONS ARE TO BE CARRIED
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OUT;
(3) EXPAND AND EXPLAIN MORE CAREFULLY HOW THE EIGHT FEDERAL ADVISORY ORGANS MIGHT BE ORGANIZED, WHAT FUNCTIONS THEY ARE TO HAVE INITAILLY AND HOW THEY MIGHT DEVELOP INTO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ORGANS AFTER THEIR INITIAL FUNCTIONS ARE SUCCESSFUL;
(4) EXPAND IN GREATER DETAIL ON SUCH INSTITUTIONS AS THE PRESIDENCY, THE LEGISLATIVE BODIES AND THE JUDICIAL ORGANS.
B. (SAME AS PARA 4?.)
C. (SAME AS PARA 4C.) END QUOTE.

6. AFTER READING BOTH THE FOREGOING, I MADE TWO ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: FIRST, THAT IT APPEARED DISCUSSION OF TERRITORY IN TERMS OF PERCENTAGES HAD BEEN UNPRODUCTIVE. WE FELT FUTURE EFFORT TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION IN TERMS OF LAND OWNERSHIP WOULD PROBABLY BE EQUALLY UNREWARDING. SECOND, WE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IF THE TWO PARTIES CONTINUED IN NICOSIA TO DISCUSS SUCH ABSTRACT CONCEPTS AS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, FREEDOM OF SETTLEMENT, AND FREEDOM OF PROPERTY. THESE GREEK CYPRIOT PREOCCUPATIONS,

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I SAID, COULD BE ADDRESSED AGAIN WHEN DISCUSSION OF TANGIBLE
ASPECTS HAD PROGRESSED.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----------291817Z 058127 /44
O P 291730Z APR 77
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5774
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 1174

EXDIS

7. PAPADOPOULOS TOOK OFF. IN A HALF-HOUR, FRACTIOUS HARANGUE,
HE MADE THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPAL POINTS: US SUGGESTIONS ARE NOT
SUBSTANTIAL. THEY ARE A RETROGRESSION FROM THE CLEAR,
CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TAKEN BY CLIFFORD. GIVEN THE RECORD OF
TURKISH BAD FAITH IN RENEGING ON COMMITMENT TO DISCUSS
TERRITORY IN A MEANINGFUL AND SUBSTANTIAL WAY IN VIENNA, US
SUGGESTIONS COULD NOT POSSIBLY BE ENTERTAINED WITHOUT A PRECISE
DEFINITION AND PRIOR UNDERSTANDING ON THE MEANING OF "DISCUSSION."
US PROPOSAL FOR TWO LINES ON A MAP IS A "GIMMICK" WHICH WOULD
NOT OBLIGATE THE TURKS TO GO BEYOND THEIR COMPLETELY UNSATISFACTORY
POSITION IN VIENNA. WHAT IS ABSOLUTELY REQUIRED IS PRIOR
ASSURANCE THAT TURKS WILL AT SOME POINT ("PERHAPS NOT NOW BUT IN
ANY CASE AFTER THEIR ELECTIONS") PRESENT THEIR OWN MAP. US IS
IN EFFECT ASKING GREEK CYPRIOTS TO MAKE A THIRD PRESENTATION ON
CONSTITUTION. THIS IS OUT OF THE QUESTION. US SUGGESTIONS
CONSTITUTE ENDORSEMENT OF "EVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION" AND
ADVISORY BOARDS. FORMER IS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE. US SHOULD BE
TELLING THE TURKS TO EXAMINE EXISTING FEDERAL CONSTITUTIONS IN
OTHER COUNTRIES AND COME UP WITH A NEW PROPOSAL THAT INCOR-
PORATES AT LEAST THE MINIMUM, UNIVERSAL ELEMENTS PRESENT IN
THESE. ADVISORY BOARD CONCEPT, IN ANY FORM, IS "MONTROUS.".
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THE SUGGESTION REGARDING NO PRESS CONFERENCES OTHER THAN UN DURING NEGOTIATION COULD BE ACCEPTED BUT ONLY IF THE UN WOULD GIVE SOLEMN PRIOR ASSURANCE THAT ITS STATEMENTS WOULD TELL THE TRUTH IF THERE IS NO PROGRESS OWING TO CONTINUED TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE. ON DISCUSSION OF TERRIROTIAL PERCENTAGE, IT WAS THE TURKS WHO RAISED PAST OWNERSHIP AND THE GREEK SIDE WILL INSIST THEAT THEY BE CONFRONTED WITH THE FACTS PROVING THAT AT NO TIME DID TURKS OWN MORE THAN 12.3 PERCENT OF CYPRUS LANDS. OVERALL, THE US SUGGESTIONS CONSTITUTE A DIS-HEARTENING FRITTERING OF THE US ROLE ON WHICH GREEK CYPRIOTS SO HEAVILY COUNT AS THEIR LAST HOPE.

8. WHEN PAPADOPOULOS HAD FINISHED, I TOLD HIM I THOUGHT HE WAS VERY WIDE OF THE MARK. US SUGGESTIONS DID NOT ENDORSE ANYBODY'S POSITIONS, WHETHER ON EVOLUTIONARY FEDERATION, ADVISORY BOARDS, OR ANYTHING ELSE. WITH THE TURKS, OUR SUGGESTIONS ADDED UP TO HITTING THE BALL SMARTLY BACK INTO THEIR COURT TO COME UP WITH FULLER EXPLANATIONS OF THEIR POSITIONS. GREEKS WERE BEING ASKED TO AMPLIFY ON THE POWERS THEY FELT IT IMPERATIVE TO VEST IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, AND SO ON. I SIAD I DID THINK THERE WOULD BE ANY POINT SERVED BY MY GETTING INTO A PROTRACTED BILATERAL NEGOTIATION WITH PAPADOPOULOS, ANY MORE THAN I WOULD WITH THE TURKS, REGARDING THE US SUGGESTIONS. PAPADOPOULOS, MORE REASONALBE, SAID, "OF COURSE NOT."

9. PAPADOPOULOS ASKED WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT. WOULD DE CUELLAR NOW BROACH THESE SUGGESTIONS TO HIM FORMALLY? I SAID NO. DE CUELLAR HAD THE US SUGGESTIONS. I BELIEVED HE WOULD SUPPORT THEM. THEY HAD BEEN GIVEN TO CELIK IN WASHINGTON. I WOULD BE GIVING THEM TO DENKTASH AND ONAN EARLY NEXT WEEK.

10. AS IF TO SET ASIDE MUCH OF HIS INITIAL REFRACTORY REACTION (BUT WITHOUT ANY IMPLICATION OF COMMITMENT), PAPADOPOULOS SAID THERE WAS ONE ISSUE ON WHICH HE WANTED ME TO TELL MY GOVERN-MENT THAT HE FELT DEEPLY. AS HE HAD INSISTED AT THE OUTSET, SOONER OR LATER IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THE TURKS TABLE A TERRITORIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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PROPOSAL. WITHOUT ASSURANCE THEAT THEY WOULD DO SO, THERE WAS FOR HIM NO POINT IN NEGOTIATION. HE ASKED THAT I OBTAIN WASHINGTON'S VIEW ON THIS. I PROMISED TO CONVEY HIS REQUEST. I SAID THAT IN MY PERSONAL VIEW THE TURKISH POSITION ON TERRITORY WAS MORE LIKELY TO EMERGE IN THE KIND OF MAP DISCUSSION WE HAD SUGGESTED THAN IN A COUNTERPROPOSAL ON TERRITORY MARKED WITH A NEW LINE ON A MAP. THE TURKISHPOSITION IS THAT THE GREEKS MUST MAKE THE CASE FOR ANY RELINQUISHMENT FROM THE PRESENT TURKISH HOLDINGS.

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11. OUR MEETING ENDED ON A FRIENDLY ENOUGH KEY, WITH AGREEMENT
THAT PAPADOPOULOS WOULD TELL THE PRESS ONLY THAT I HAD CALLED
TO OBTAIN HIS VIEWS ABOUT THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATION.

12. LATER IN THE MORNING PAPADOPOULOS TELEPHONED DE CUELLAR
TO GO OVER THE GIST OF OUR CONVERSATION. HE WAS, IN
DE CULLAR'S WORDS, "VERY NEGATIVE." COMMENT: I SUSPECT
PAPADOPOULOS IS TRYING TO SCARE THE UN OUT OF SUUPPORTING U.S.
SUGGESTIONS.
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